DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 104 990 UD 014 978

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TITLE The Black Woman.
PUB DATE Oct 74
NOTE 21p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 1974)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.58 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS African American Studies; African History; *Females; Feminism; *Negro History; *Negro Mothers; Negro Role; *Racial Discrimination; Role Theory; Sex Discrimination; *Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Slavery; United States History; Working Women

ABSTRACT

The Black woman has been the transmitter of culture in the black community. Two of the important roles of African women were perpetuated during slavery and continue until today. They are her role in economic endeavor and her close bond with her children. The woman in African society was additionally politically significant. The black woman has been defined as a double nonperson. American women have been denied their history. History in the past has been written by white male historians and has been a story of mankind, utilizing learned spokesmen from a male point of view. Black history has been written by black historians. Their spokesmen have been chosen by a racist society. This study shows that the life of the black woman under slavery was in every respect more difficult and even more cruel than that of the men. Black women were, though it is little known, active in the revolution and resisted both violently and nonviolently. The matriarch myth is discussed in this study as well as the role of the black woman and women's liberation. The black woman is placed in a historical perspective. The role of the black woman is examined by a black woman, and black women speak intellectually, not only as the "sexual outhouse" for white men during slavery but in resistance to prostitution for the state under welfare. It is noted here that the black woman finds practical ways of dealing with and coping with the white world. (Author/JM)

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THE BLACK WOMAN

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Since the 1960 Civil Rights protests, more attention has been given to the history of Black people in America. Since Columbus (or someone) "discovered" America the Indian people were considered "non-existent" until "discovered," so also were Black people "discovered" in the 60's after sit-ins, pray-ins, march ons, blow ups, and burn downs. Prior to that time, they were considered non-people--non existent--or as Ralph Ellison has said--"invisible."

American women have also been denied their history. History in the past has been written by white male historians and has been a story of MANkind, utilizing learned spokesMEN from a male point of view. Black women have been doubly labeled non-people. They have been first Black and non-huMAN. Their spokesMEN have been chosen for them by a racist society. Their men have been labeled beasts and they, therefore, labeled immoral--desired by beasts and respected by none. Being Black and being women, they completely cancelled themselves out and became doubly invisible.

Though Black women were in America before 1619, their history has not yet begun. They have not yet been "discovered". Their records are buried, unread, unwritten, unnoticed, unknown and considered unimportant.

> It seems almost paradoxical, but nevertheless true, that the history of women and the history of Negroes are, in the essential features of their struggle for status, quite parallel. In the first place, they have both inherited from the long past a traditional status which has restricted not only their activities, but their thinking with reference to the rest of life and with reference to themselves.
>
> The arguments almost always . . . used to prove that the position of servility, graduated from mildness to the harshest mental and physical slavery is the only one for which they are satisfied by their nature, has been used, as you are aware,

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for Negroes through the years.

> Our more advanced thinkers now are beginning to point out that greatness is very largely a social accident and almost always socially supported, and that the failure of one group to have shining representatives is more apt to be due to lack of opportunity in these fields from which they are barred by social pressure, than lack of capacity.[1]

Toni Cade in her book The Black Woman says, "As for woman, and the whole question of her role, they seem to agree with Freud: anatomy is destiny."[2]

After Diahann Carroll went off the air with her portrayal of Julia, a chocolate Doris Day, the Black woman's role on the mass media fluctuated from Flip Wilson's Geraldine to Fred Sanford's, Elizabeth, loud and crude--unseen and unheard, yet felt. Generalizations were therefore made about Black matriarchy, the Black family, Black women's role, Black intelligence and Black morality, without unbiased scholarly evidence. Her presence implied, though her voice was unheard and true identity unknown.

Although the argument has not been settled as to whether there is a transference of African culture to the American shores, Melvin Herskovitz, in The Myth of the Negro Past, argues that Africanisms survived all methods of the oppressors to destroy the African's culture and to de-program him so that he might be more easily captured, physically and spiritually.[3] E. Franklin Frazier in The Negro Family in the United States argues that the Black man became a Black American and nothing more as a result of the environment forced upon him.[4]

It is interesting to note, however, that the Black woman was part of an African cultural tradition very different from that of the New World. The roles of women in pre-colonial Africa were very important ones and quite different from those considered duties and obligations of women in Western society. Two of the important roles of African women which were perpetuated during slavery and continue until today are (1) her economic function and

(2) her close bond with her children. Herskovitz describes the prominent role of women as traders in the market and indicates some of them became independently wealthy as a result of their endeavor.[5] "The West African Market woman is an institution. She is the small capitalist, or the entrepreneur."[6]

Politically, women in Africa were very important to the administration of tribal affairs. There were often Queen mothers and Queen sisters who were the actual rulers of the nation.[7] The Queen could keep King waiting for hours. "When officials reported to the King, groups of women were present whose duty it was to remember what had happened."[8]

The African family acted as a unit with each member contributing productively. While the warrior was away hunting, the mother and children fought off invaders and enemies. While the mother tilled the earth, the father often tended the children.

The creation myths of the Hausa people in Northern Nigeria begin with a woman who goes out and founds a kingdom. She therefore leads her people to this "promised land". After their arrival she settles down and establishes the traditions of the people.[9]

The role of the woman in creation was not simply that of having children. One did not simply exist because he was born of a woman. As Rattray stated in Ashanti, ". . . a person's status rank and fundamental rights stem from his mother, and that is why she is the most important person in his life."[10]

SLAVERY

Africans must have been totally unprepared for the barbaric conditions to which they would be subjected in the "civilized" world. The degradation which the Black woman suffered in slavery had a total effect on all aspects of her life--her identity as a woman and as an African, her relationship and

roles with regard to her man and to her family.

> "Ah done been in sorrow's kitchen and an licked de pots clean."
>
> Gullah Proverb

"AT THIS POINT IN TIME" most people have heard about, or read about the institution of slavery with its cruel living conditions and its brutual dying conditions. There is no need then to detail the life of the slave.

The life of the Black woman under slavery was in every respect more difficult and even more cruel than that of the men. They were required to do equal work and received equal pay. (Punishment was given out in equal measure, with equal force.) Women had the added burden of childbearing and rearing and in fact were beaten regardless of motherhood, pregnancy or physical condition. Pregnant women who did not keep up their speed in the cotton fields were lashed for encouragement. Children were used as hostages to keep the women from running away. Sexual exploitation and abuse were common while children were sold away from mothers and wives from husbands. It is small wonder that some women threw babies overboard on the Middle Passage or killed them on arrival rather than have them grow up in the institution of slavery.[11]

> I can remember when I was a little young girl how my old mammy would sit out of doors in the evenings and look up at the stars and groan, and I would say 'Mammy who makes you groan so?' and she would say 'I am groaning to think of my poor children--they do not know where I be and I do not know where they be. I look up at the stars and they look up at the stars!'[12]

The narratives of many slaves tell of various methods of resistance utilized by Black women in slavery. Harriet Tubman chose to resist by running away to the North and then returning many times to lead more than 300 slaves to freedom. There were many other unnamed Harriet Tubmans who resisted in this way. There were those who "accidentally" put glass in

massa's milk, too much salt in dinner. There were those who secretly learned to read and write. They used these skills to write passes for other slaves who ran away and to teach other slaves to read and write in the "midnight schools."

One of the images constantly brought up regarding the Black woman in slavery is the picture of the Black woman crying at the death of massa or missus.

> I wasn't crying 'bout mistress,
> I cried cuz no more white bread.[13]

MATRIARCHY MYTH

Due to the report written by Daniel P. Moynihan on "The Negro Family in the U.S." not only have contemporary legislators substituted the "War on Poverty" with "benign neglect," but the female-headed household is assumed to be the predominant family form of Black families. (This condition of matriarchy is supposedly detrimental to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and causes all kinds of maladjustments, from venereal disease to juvenile delinquency. (Incidentally, Daniel P. Moynihan's Black matriarchy proposition is based, incredibly, on the statistic that <u>one quarter</u> (only) of all Black families are headed by women.

The problem is that the Black woman's strength has been blown out of proportion so that now even the slightest degree of aggressiveness or non-dependency is regarded as threatening to Black males. As a result of Moynihan, Black men began to look upon Black women as being against them and thus making them weak. It is significant to note that the life of the Black woman consisted of historical and sociological conflicts and often caused as Toni Cade says "synthetic myths that encourage us to fashion our-

selves rashly from without (reaction) rather than from within creation."[14]

WOMEN BEHIND THE MEN

In a further study of Black History, one finds the concentration still on the story of the Black MAN in American History.

There were literally (and figuratively) women behind all of the Black men one studies in history. Few people who know of Frederick Douglass, great abolitionist, lecturer, writer, statesman and Black intellectual--know of the story of one woman in the life of Frederick Douglass--his mother. Frederick, as a young child, had been separated from his mother and sold to a far away plantation. He remembered throughout his entire life, looking up into the strange face of a woman who left her plantation after working all day in the cotton fields, walked twelve miles barefoot in the night, hiding from the patrollers just to see him and hold him in the night while he slept. For these few moments of motherhood, she had to start on the long, dangerous walk back to her own plantation in order to be there at work in the cotton field before her absence could have been known.

Many know nothing about Booker T. Washington's mother who cooked all day in the kitchen on the plantation, returning late at night to cook for her own children in their bare cabin. Booker T. Washington, tells how his mother "liberated" a chicken from the master's flock to feed her hungry family. No one hears about Booker T. Washington's wives who were as active as he in founding and building and fund raising for Tuskegee Institute. Nor do we hear of Nat Turner's mother. (In fact William Styron said he had no mother.) Nat's mother was an African who had to be forcibly restrained fromkilling her baby, Nat, when he was born. Her proud bravery would not allow her to bring a baby into the world of slavery.

Matriarchy as a term, implies power. Black women have been powerless. White society has considered Black women so little of a threat that it has allowed them (or forced) them into service in the white family.

Black women have always had access to the best part of town--til dishes were done.

BLACK WOMEN AND LIBERATION

Work to Black women is not liberating, but a lifelong necessity imposed upon them.

For a nation to be free, all of its people must be liberated. For a society to be a democracy it must have all of its people liberated, Black people and Women, white and Black.

Frances Beale in her essay "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female" relates the Black Revolution to the White Women's Liberation movement and says "While there are parallels since both live under the same exploitive system, there are certain differences,

1. No anti-imperialist, anti-racist platform
2. Basically middle-class " [15]

(Very few of these women suffer the extreme economic exploitation that most Black women are subjected to day by day. Not simply intellectual persecution.)

Black women are individuals too. (Different strokes for different folks). There are some common concerns, however. Conflicting implications have erupted in the struggle. The statement is often heard that "the only free people in this country are white men and Black women."

On Abortion and Birth Control, Beale says, "The sterilization experiments carried on in concentration camps have been denounced the world over, but no

one seems to get upset by the repetition of these same racist tactics today in the U.S.A."

Beale continues on to say: "Black women are not being told not to practice birth control. Black women have the right and the responsibility to determine when it is in the interest of the struggle to have children or not to have them, and this right must not be relinquished to anyone!"[16]

Abbey Lincoln says that the Black woman has been used as the white man's "sexual outhouse".

Kay Lindsey "The Black Woman as Woman" says: "The state has created an artificial family. The welfare check takes the place of the husband and can thus manipulate the family more directly."[17]

We constantly hear of the Black woman who is doing nothing but lying on her back, conceiving illegitimate babies so that she can become wealthy on welfare. One welfare mother says, "Anyone who can live on welfare should be courted by Wall Street. He is a financial genius. I paid $40 a month rent and received $69 for all expenses."

This welfare mother said that one day she took her three children to the local welfare office and made an offer:

> "if he arranged for the city to supply me with a babysitter and carfare to finish my last semester of college, within a few months a family of 4 would be off the welfare rolls--at considerable savings to the city. He almost had a fit. The City of New York does not send mothers to school and if I came up with the money to do it on my own, I must report it immediately so he could throw me off welfare."

CONCLUSION

Historians and other scholars do not know what kinds of barriers a Black woman has had to overcome in order to survive.

Life in the Black community is most often shaped by poverty, discrimination and institutional subordination. Growing up Black, the Black woman finds practical ways of dealing with and coping with the world. She often finds it difficult to define her roles and to acquire models for fulfilling what is expected of her. The typical world of the teenager in American society is not often shared by the Black girl.

Her goal is survival--survival of her family and her race. The means--varied avenues to the perpetuation of her culture.

The evolution of the Black woman in America begins in slavery and continues until the present day Women's Liberation movement. Black women have always played an important part in history but have been forced into various stereotypes which prevent people from knowing what they really accomplished. There are roles expected from women and Blacks as separate entities, but the Black woman has been pushed into a stereotype with a combination of both.

This began in the time of slavery, when African women were uprooted from their homes and brought to America. The women had to deal not only with slavery, but with a whole new culture. They were forced to accept the traditions and values of white America in order to survive. In addition, they were sometimes forced to leave their families. Men were chosen first to come to America, and had to leave their wives behind. Even if they were fortunate enough to stay together, men slaves were laborers, while some of the women were domestics. In many cases, the house servants and field workers were separated into different housing. Thus, the Black woman had to contend with many problems right from the beginning.

Sometimes the master forcibly coupled men and women with the aim of producing the maximum number of healthy children,[18] without regard to previous mates. This type of order was not common, nevertheless it shows the level of deviation slave women had to endure.

The Black woman was thrust into what the white man deemed her role as a woman. She performed the expected duties of maintaining a household, and raising the children. In her case, however, she was given the only duty on the plantation which benefited the slaves themselves directly, and not the owner. While the slaves got little for working in the fields, they profited from the work of the women.[19]

The Black woman was not, however, restricted to domestic work. She did, in fact, work along with the men in the fields. Thus, she was for the first and only time, on an equal level to the men. She was also, unfortunately, beaten along with the men, and many times little compassion was given her whether she was a mother or not.

She was also forced into sexual abuse, for many masters believed in using their women slaves for carnal pleasure. Since he believed the slaves were his property, he could take advantage of them. This practice dated back to feudal times with the "right to the first night" law. This allowed the feudal lord to have sexual intercourse with any or all of the females on his estate. This violation descended into slavery times, probably because it gave the master a chance to flaunt his authority. This is not to say that the Black woman submitted passively. At times, the women had scars to show the fortitude with which they fought sexual violation.[20]

Thus, the Black woman in slavery bore tremendous hardships and responsibilities. She was in many ways, however, equal to the men, not the matriarchial figure she has been described as. She merely took her duties in hand, and

assumed them, but still maintained her femininity.

Two of the most famous women abolitionists of that time, Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Tubman fought not only for equality of races but equality of women. In fact, at a Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio in 1851, Sojourner Truth spoke out for women. She said:

> I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And aren't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man--when I could get it, and bear the lash as well! And aren't I a woman?

Then, in retaliation to the priest residing over the meeting who had said women could not have as many rights as a man because Christ was a man, she said: "Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him."[21] Thus, in a few short sentences, Sojourner Truth, in 1851, reflected completely the views of women today.

Women also played an important part in resistance movements. One women in particular, Harriet Tubman did more than contribute her time and effort into bringing slaves across the border of slave states. During the Civil War, she was chief of the Intelligence Service in the Department of the South. She also led troops into battle.[22] Harriet Tubman was not the only woman, however, to take part in these movements.

In 1788, in a rebellion in New York, seven white persons were killed. As a result of this, three Blacks were hung, and a woman was burned alive. In 1712 in another uprising in the same area, many slaveholders were killed or wounded and many Black women were held responsible.

Many Black women slaves were executed for conspiring on a larger scale. In 1730, an immense plan for the annihilation of slave-holders was discovered. Because of this plan, eight men and one woman were executed and their heads displayed on poles publicly.

One pregnant woman who was being transported from Maryland to the South was

part of a group which attempted to kill their captors and escape. They were all captured and executed except the woman who was allowed to give birth to her child. She was then hanged.

These acts of resistance were of importance to the entire slave community. Because of the equality of the men and women slave in labor it was important to carry this equality over into areas of resistance in order to maintain unity. The Black woman successfully upheld her status as her man's equal.

All of this tends to disprove the theory of the matriarchal Black woman. There did exist, however, another stereotype, that of the Black "mammy."[23] She was the lovable, domestic servant in the plantation. All the master's children loved her like a mother and she was always agreeable and understanding. She was usually a large woman and had a deep, hearty laugh. Now although it may ease the conscience of some whites to think of a slave so happy with her life-style, this stereotype is absurd in many aspects. In the first place, on a plantation, the fear of a slave uprising was more prevalent than most people are aware of. It is unlikely that the master would allow his slaves to become too attached to his children, for fear of their safe-keeping. Also, an easy-going rapport between the white family and the slaves was rare. Even domestics, if they lived close to the owner's house, would not remain behind after the work was done to "chat" with the family or even the children. There would be little chance to establish a close relationship. Even if some form of closeness did exist, it would be an urgency on the slave's part to make something out of an unbearable existence.

It remains, nonetheless that the slave woman did not fall into either of the stereotypes given her. She was not only equal to the men in work, but also in her output towards resistance and the abolitionist movement.

The Black woman maintained some of her equality during the first half of

the twentieth century, at least within the family. It was not considered horrendous for a Black woman to work if she needed the money to support her family, or to aid in income. In this respect she did not have to fight the disdain with which white working mothers are looked upon. This does not mean she was more independent than the white woman, for many of the Black women are still confined to the occupations with the lowest pay.

One aspect the Black woman had to contend with during the late 1950's was the idea of "white beauty." To obtain this beauty one had to be fair-skinned with long straight hair. Thus, there was a move for hair straighteners and bleaching creams. The Black women then realized that no matter what, they remained dark with curly hair. Luckily, however, the "Black is beautiful" stream of thought began, and the Black woman regained faith in the uniqueness of her own kind of beauty.

In recent years, the Black woman has come to play an increasingly important part in Civil Rights and the Woman's Liberation movement. Equality regarding color appears to be more important than equality for the sexes as Francis Hope, a feminist abolitionist said, "Being Black is more precarious and demanding than being a woman."[24] This does not mean however, that Black women have not fought for women's rights. It began with women's suffrage, and has continued until today.

There are two main problems for Black women within the women's movement. One is that the women's revolution frequently compares itself to the civil rights movement. For example, one circulated pamphlet states the following:[25]

1. Women, like Black slaves, belong to a master. They are property and whatever credit they gain redounds to him.

2. Women, like Black slaves, have a personal relationship to the men who are their masters.

3. Women, like Blacks, get their identity and status from white men.

4. Women, like Blacks, play an idiot role in the theatre of the white man's fantasies.

The analogy between the two cases exploits the Black movement by minimizing the importance of the Black revolution, and using half-truths concerning the women's revolution. Women were never slaves in the sense that Blacks were slaves. They were not forced to work by someone who owned them by law. They rarely, as stated before, had a "personal relationship" with their master, unless it was strictly sex. The white woman who is burdened by her marriage to a white man is free to get out of it, the slave was not. These may be some of the reasons why Black women place their Black revolution ahead of women's liberation.

There also exists a tension between white and Black women. One reason for this could be the fact that there is competition between the two races to keep the men of their color, with them. Each race looks at the other as a threat. Until some kind of unity is achieved in this area, the women's movement is forced to move more slowly. Professor Pauli Murray, at Brandeis University stated it as such:

> In the larger society, Negro and white women share a common burden because of traditional discrimination based upon sex. . . Despite the common interests of Negro and white women, however, the dichotomy of the segregated society has prevented them from cementing a natural alliance.[26]

This is not to imply that no work has been done for the movement by Black women. In fact, the woman mentioned above, Pauli Murray and another Black woman, Aileen Hernandez were co-founders of the National Organization for Women (NOW), along with Betty Friedan. Miss Hernandez is currently president of the organization. At the National Political Women's Caucus held in July, 1971, at least nine of the representatives were Black women.

Perhaps the most famous Black woman of this decade is Shirley Chisholm.

She has broken two barriers by becoming the first Black congresswoman. There are many who feel she has accomplished much and will in the future. There are some Blacks who feel that she can do little for the black people by working within the system.[27] She nevertheless has begun to prove that a Black woman can get somewhere, even with discrimination in two areas against her.

In the journalistic field Black women have made strides in recent years. Women such as Nikki Giovanni, Sonia Sanchez, and Mari Evans have made enormous contributions to the literary world. Their poems are about being black, about being a woman, and about being a black woman. Mari Evans is additionally a producer-director for, "The Black Experience", a weekly presentation of WTTV in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Women have made strides in the literary world and some in politics, but perhaps the most important aspect to look at is the economic progression. It is a fact that it is easier for a Black woman to get a job today than a white woman, if only because she can be classified into two minorities and the company's quota will be acceptable. With a few exceptions, the black woman remains in the most menial jobs. This may be due to the fact that, if the family lives in a low-income area the chance for good well-paid jobs are rare. So although she is hired more easily than a white woman, this statistic cannot be taken to mean her income is higher. This is one area where Black women in the movement should fully assert themselves for it is an important goal.

The attitudes of Black women themselves towards women's liberation can most aptly describe their goals and doubts. Some of them are disgusted with the movement because of the emphasis on irrelevancies, such as who is going to wash the dishes and the bra-burning sessions. Others feel that equality for Black women is unnecessary, for they already have it. They were forced

to go out and get jobs long ago when society discriminated against the Black man.[28] Some resent the fact that the movement is made up of predominantly white middle-class women with whom the Black women have nothing in common. Perhaps the most prominent reason is not really a disagreement with the movement itself, but more a question of priorities. Many Black women feel that the liberation of the Blacks is a more urgent and important need than the liberation of women.

Not all Black women are totally against the cause, however. Some women feel that only after the liberation of women will the equality of Blacks come about. For only then will the white women and Black women be on the same level, as the Black women already have equality as seen by them. At that point it will be possible for everyone to work for racial equality. Still other women do not feel the equality others do and therefore are willing to accept the movement on its own merit, without thinking of a racial movement immediately following it.

Although there seems to be a general distrust of the women's movement on the part of Black women, it is for the most part based on fear. They are afraid that any kind of merger with the feminists and the racial equality movements will undermine the effectiveness of the Black liberation. Also, there is a possibility of a split between the Black men and women, were the women to join forces with the women's liberation movement. That unity existing between the two now is all important in accomplishing anything for blacks as a unit. The one area where there is little disagreement is discrimination in employment.

Thus, if the American public sees Black women as apathetic to the feminist cause, it is imperative to look at the reasons why they seem so. It is simply a matter of fear. They are afraid that any part in the women's

movement (other than equality in jobs) will corrode the potency of the Black movement, and they are not about to let that occur.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the Black woman has been much more important to America's history than is believed. She was essential in the abolitionist movement because of her equality with the Black man. Had she not fought alongside the men during that time the unity of the slaves would have been lost. From the time of women's suffrage she has aided the cause of women's rights. Today, she is accomplishing equality in politics and journalism. She already had equality within the family unit and this has helped to show white society that it is possible. She has worked long and hard for Civil Rights and was important and will remain important to Black Consciousness as a whole. In fact, that is the most important value she has, to be Black. In short, the Black woman is an essential member of American society. The fact that she is thus far unappreciated should and will not stop her from continuing on her upward trend.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]Mary McLeod Bethune, "Notes for the Address Before the Women's Club, undated, Amistad Research Center, Dillard Univ., New Orleans.

[2]Toni Cade, The Black Woman, Introduction, p. 9.

[3]Melvin Herskovitz, The Myth of the Negro Past, p. 62, 1958 edition.

[4]E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States.

[5]Melvin Herskovitz, The Myth of the Negro Past, p. 63.

[6]Marie Perinbaum, lecture delivered at Spelman College, Spring 1969.

[7]Plantation to Ghetto, Meir and Rudwick, p. 14.

[8]Marie Perinbaum, lecture delivered at Spelman College, Spring 1969.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Rattray, Ashanti.

[11]Botkin, Lay My Burden Down, p. 40.

[12]Sojourner Truth from W. E. B. DuBois, 'The Damnation of Women," Darkwater, p. 179.

[13]Gerda Lerner, The Black Woman in White America, p. 22.

[14]Toni Cade, The Black Woman, p. 7.

[15]Ibid., p. 97.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Angela Davis, Black Scholar, Volume 13, 1 & 2, p. 83.

[19]Ibid., p. 87.

[20]Ibid., p. 98.

[21]Elsie Adams and Mary Louise Brescoe, Up Against the Wall, Mother, Glenive Press, 1971, pp. 326-327.

[22]Angela Davis, Black Scholar, p. 90.

[23]Wendy Martin, The American Sisterhood, Harper and Row Publishers, 1970, p. 175.

[24]Catharine Stimpson, Women in Sexist Society, Bani Books, 1971, p. 465.

[25]Beverly Jones and Judith Brown, Toward a Female Liberation Movement, New England Free Press, no date.

[26]Inez Smith Reid, "Together" Black Women, Emerson Hall Publishers, 1972, p. 34.

[27]Ibid., p. 156.

[28]Ibid., p. 37.